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EVALUATION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT POLICIES: THE CASE OF SLOVENIA AND CANADA

VREDNOTENJE UDELEŽBE JAVNOSTI PRI OCENJEVANJU OKOLJSKIH JAVNIH POLITIK: PRIMER SLOVENIJE IN KANADE

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ABSTRACT: The present research addresses methodology of public participation and *politics* of community economic development in environmental assessment processes. We are interested specifically in how concepts of power and space jointly operate in creating *opportunities* for marginalized groups to enter into policy process. Furthermore, a strong research interest is given to the improvement of existing public participation methodologies in a sense of possible reintegration of expert and local knowledge systems. On the basis of the two case studies (Wuskwatim projects in Canada and the Soča river case in Slovenia) differences in creation of invited policy space and claimed/created counterparts are presented.

KEY WORDS: geography, hydroelectric development, power, space, public participation, community economic development, environmental assessment process, Slovenia, Canada

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1 Introduction

Applying the Canadian Community Economic Development (henceforth the CED) approach we highlight the importance of participatory governance in development planning activities. A fundamental part of this investigation is an effort to overcome often used »*buzzwords such as empowerment or /…/ capacity building, community action, community innovation*« (Mendell 2010, 5) and show a real potential of community initiatives and their impact on the modern landscape.

Several studies have addressed the environmental impact assessment in relation to hydroelectric projects. Karjalainen and Järvikoski (2010) have dealt (in the case of Finland) with the legitimacy of the assessment process in resolving conflict situations. Pinho, Maia and Monterroso (2007) have evaluated the quality of environmental impact studies in Portugal for small hydropower projects. Thórhallsdóttir (2007) has researched environmental values and impacts as a consequence of hydroelectric and geothermal developments in the context of Icelandic energy plan. In Canada, Fitzpatrick and Sinclair (2009) have made valuable insight in investigating environmental impact assessment in »multijurisdictional environments« with specific attention to open public participation. Additionally, Sinclair, Diduck and Fitzpatrick (2008) have directed attention to learning outcomes for the public in environmental assessment processes in Canada.

We address public participation going hand in hand with the power phenomenon: how may power be controlled by corporate bodies and governments in creating spaces of possible participation? Public policy space as established for public participation may be more or less abstract category (e.g. concrete as a space for public debates about environmental issues organized in a specific location with pre-defined rules; or abstract, connecting players, for example, via the Internet) where development project proponents are trying to manage it by using different strategies of power expression (see Gaventa 2006; Durnik 2009). Differences in public reactions are presented according to environmental problems in two different contexts:

- the public reaction from the »bottom« (created/claimed policy spaces) using short-term strategies (petitions, letters) to influence policy process;
- the public involvement in meetings (invited policy spaces) with predetermined procedures.

2 Community economic development

The CED approach »*focuses primarily on economic and material improvements in the lives of community members*« (Loxley 2007, 8) and mainly advocates *integration* of different modes of development (Loxley 2007; Loxley 2010). They are two main visions of the CED:

- abolishing negative consequences of capitalist development;
- new alternatives to that development.

As shown in the project *The Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy* (Internet 1), there are many development areas where the involvement of the CED is relevant concerning the new economy:

- the impact of new technologies (internet, satellites) on the life of remote communities;
- models of CED business revitalization;
- new economy businesses with a cultural component;
- management of natural resources and potential barriers for aboriginal participation;
- the impact of hydroelectric development on northern Aboriginal communities etc..

Knowledge economy may create additional barriers for community development. High growth may have relevant positive consequences at the level of the state or international community but may provoke negative impacts in the local community itself. The New Economy may offer new opportunities in sectors of information technology or finance but almost parallelly, it may cause that benefits from intensive growth may not be distributed in a just manner (Manitoba Research Alliance 2006).

3 Methodology and research model

Documentation of public hearings relating to Wuskwatim projects are used for the purpose of the present research. In the context of the hydroelectric development in the upper Posočje, analysis of government documents, media reporting and investigation of private archive has been studied.

We are interested in methods of public participation in environmental assessment policy (see in Golobič 2011) which are common to *politics* of the CED (see Sheldrick 2007).

Table 1: Methods of public involvement in planning activities (source: Golobič 2011).

	Methods of individual participation	Groups-interactive methods
Information	Publicity (media announcements), brochures, models, exhibitions, web	Public exhibition, days of open access, interactive posters and models, information centre, various events
Consultation	Surveys, interviews, analysis of community, photo analysis, cognitive maps, tendering, petitions	Public hearings, method Delphi, group discussions (workshops, round tables, open space, focus groups, world café, conference concerning future development), participatory monitoring
Participation in decision-making	Elections, referenda	Participatory planning process, voluntary agreements, intermediation, involvement of representatives of the public decisional body (forums), citizenship initiatives

The politics of the CED approach may be understood through the following development models (Sheldrick 2007):

- social planning model as technocratic top-down approach;
- locality development with highly agreed common interest among participants;
- social action model where radicalization and politicalization of potential conflict would serve as a radical transformation of community.

In the first one, technocratic decisions are usually answers for community problems. Community members are formally part of the policy process but usually they are not involved in planning activities. Locality development presupposes prevention and control of conflict. The state transmits responsibilities to communities which lose some activism potential due to intensive bureaucratization. Transfer of power and significant relocation of resources have to be exchanged between the state and community organizations for the purpose of radical social change (Shragge 2003; Sheldrick 2007; Mendell 2010). In this vien, social action model offers a potential for radical *transformation* of community (Sheldrick 2007).

A research model is a result of long-term investigation of Canadian hydroelectric development (see more in Rousseau 2000; Martin and Hoffman 2008; Durnik 2009) where the majority of cases have shown very similar reaction by local communities (mostly the Aboriginal ones) towards the state: firstly, subjugation of local community, then the radical change in terms of empowerment and finally, a preparedness for the new consensus with government.

The idea of transformative learning (learning outcomes) determines how adult education and learning may provoke social changes (Fitzpatrick 2006). Two determinants of transformative learning are relevant: instrumental and communicative learning. Instrumental counterpart is a process of gaining »*new knowledge and skills designed to control or manipulate the environment*« (Fitzpatrick 2006, 3). Communicative learning model offers us the insight in the meaning of others about ourselves and strategies how to change the meaning of the opposite side (Fitzpatrick 2006). In this sense, scholars use the so-called mental models methodology converging different views between experts and the public (see more in Ackerlund 2011).

Public participation is largely associated with *power* relations. Power may be imagined in many ways: as hierarchy of empowerment, as micro-power or as psychological view. The three faces of power approach involves power as the open game with predetermined rules (Dahl 1958; 1961), non-decision making (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; 1970), and manipulation with the views of other peoples (Lukes 1974; 2005). Micro-power (known as the Foucaultian way) may be seen as a continuation of the first three explaining that power is »everywhere« and expressed through discourse formations (Digeser 1992). Gaventa (2006) offers a power cube approach where three forms of power are combined with spaces and levels of public participation. Allen (2009) has treated power as the three spaces of power: territory, network and topological twist. Ek (2011) also speaks about topologies of power and recognized the fourth dimension as the presence or absence parameters (boundary, network, and fluidity are the first three). Daugbjerg (1998) has applied Smithian's structural and non-structural power to policy networks. Structural power comes from the operation of a policy network with predetermined rules or procedures, whereas non-structural power shapes participants using their own skills and resources in the policy process.

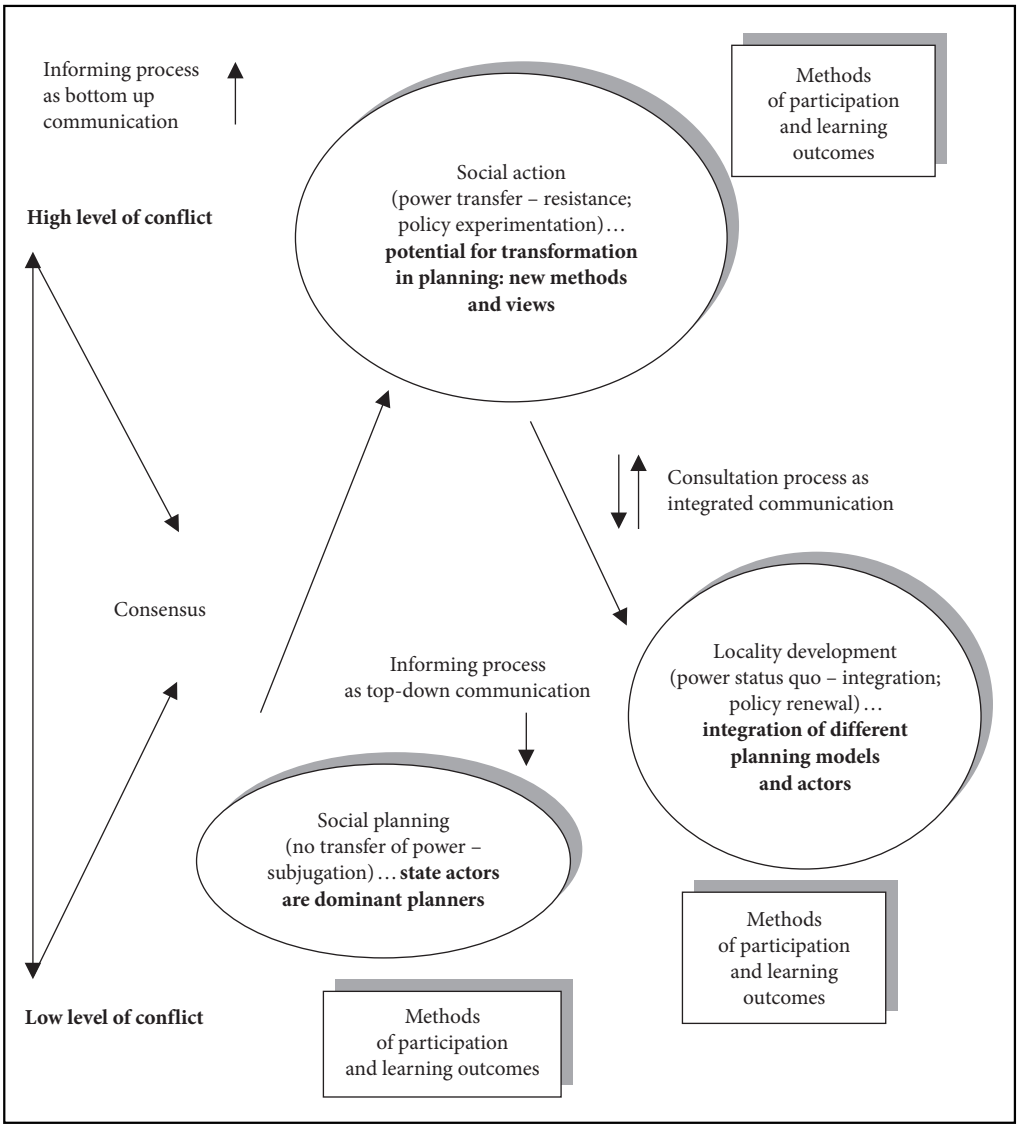

Figure 1: Dynamic (three–level) understanding of community economic development evolution models applied to Canadian hydroelectric development (source: adapted from Durnik 2012).

4 Case studies

Subjects of comparison are hydroelectric projects Wuskwatim in northern Manitoba (Canada) and planned future development in the upper Soča river basin (located in the north-western part of Slovenia). The first one pictures a long-term dispute between Canadian government and Aboriginal communities about the nature of development in Aboriginal land and it presents an improved previous model of cooperation. In the case of the upper Posočje, the Slovenian government has tried, having proposed the draft of the Energy Law (Ministrstvo za gospodarstvo 2011), to eliminate the jurisdiction of the two previous laws (The Law Establishing the Protected Area of the River Soča and its Tributaries; Uradni list SRS 7/76 and

The Nature Conservation Act; Uradni list RS 56/99, 31/00, 119/02, 22/03, 41/04, 96/04 – UPB) regulating the construction of energy facilities on the Soča River in a different way. According to the controversial 565 article, building and renovation might be also intended »*in the area of natural values, on a section from the source of the river Soča to the flow of Idrijca in Most na Soči*«. Until recently, this area has been protected from any intervention. Even the above-mentioned article is the only one in the proposed law dealing with the Soča River and its tributaries it would significantly change the life of local communities.

According to Komac (2011 b), such an important decision would need much longer treatment and a wider public debate. Above all, potential modification of existing laws has to include comprehensive studies of long-term necessity, suitability and eligibility of interventions provided (social, environmental and economic consequences), plus proposed variants have to be publicly presented and evaluated. What is more, Soča is one of the last alpine rivers with such a preserved natural environment and is an important source of income for community (tourism). Important factors in collective memory of local inhabitants are moments of fear concerning natural disasters that happened in the last decade or so (see Komac 2009; general assessment of damage concerning natural disasters in Slovenia see Zorn and Komac 2011).

Wuskwatim projects consist of hydroelectric generating station and transmission lines. Generating station has been a subject of the proposed partnership between the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (henceforth the NCN) and Crown Corporation Manitoba Hydro. 200-megawatt generating station is situated at Taskinigahp Falls on the Burntwood River in the Nelson House Resource Management Area, which is around 45 kilometres southwest of Thompson (Internet 2). 230 kilovolt transmission lines (Fitzpatrick 2006) are not a part of the proposed partnership but they were together with construction access road (part of generating station) subjects of environmental assessment (henceforth the EA) review (Foth 2011). The NCN community of the Nelson House agreed to come in joint partnership with Manitoba Hydro in share of approximately one third value of emerging generating station in overall sum of 1.2 billion Canadian dollars (Durnik 2012). Furthermore, Crown Corporation has guaranteed throughout the project jobs also for members of the NCN community to whom has been given preferences in gaining some working positions (Internet 3; Internet 4).

5 Analysis

5.1 Wuskwatim projects and locality development

Terms of reference were administered to the Clean Environmental Commission (henceforth the CEC) to execute public hearings and obtain the justification, need for and alternatives to the projects and verification of potential environmental, socioeconomic and cultural impacts. EA is supported by federal laws as the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (S.C. 2012, c. 19, s. 52) and the provincial Environment Act (C.C.S.M. c. E125; Foth 2011; Durnik 2009). At the level of the province, Aboriginal communities participated in the following activities (mainly under the supervision of the CEC) (table 2):

Table 2: Public participation at different stages of environmental assessment process (source: Durnik 2009; Foth 2011).

Policy Space	Public meetings (four)	Pre-hearing conference	Motion hearings (two)	Interrogatory process (four circles of written questions)	Public hearings (32 days)
Subject	Suggestions to the draft on the environmental impact statement	Review of the proposed schedule by proponents	Widening the range (content) of the EA and dealing with »non-disclosure« subjects of concern	Informing affected policy players and avoidance of the doublings in suggestions	Environmental license issue

To some extent, the hearings had been prepared in a way to be acceptable for aboriginal communities but there were some important shortcomings. Foth (2011) has reported that insufficient financial resources limited optimum Aboriginal participation although more than 870 000 Canadian dollars was spent supporting public engagement. Additionally, shortage of legal and technical capacity and expert knowledge importantly affected the Aboriginal involvement. The importance of location was also crucial: 82 percents

of the whole public meetings between 2002 and 2004 were taking place in the city of Winnipeg (southern Manitoba; seats of provincial government and Manitoba Hydro company). On the other hand, the majority of hydroelectric developments are taking place in northern Manitoba. Deficiency of reliable information and communication obstacles had been expressed in the format of information, their inaccessibility, technical discourse and procedural formalities (Foth 2011). Kobliski (2004, 6) has pointed out that proponents were »*pushing the project too fast without truthful consultation with the people*«, while Kempton (2004) has recognized that Manitoba Hydro tried to minimize the importance of negative environmental effects concerning projects. Lack of trust and incomprehension of the discussion process were additional obstacles to public participation relating to project implications. Finally, application of violent strategies by project proponents to dominate a public debate seemed also fundamental (Foth 2011).

Table 3: Shortcomings in public hearings, various explanations of the power phenomenon and strategies of empowerment in the case of Wuskwatim projects

Shortcomings expressed by the affected publics (Foth 2011; Kempton 2004; Kobliski 2004)	Expression of power in hands of proponents (faces, spaces, and structures of power) (Lukes 1974; Gaventa 2006; Daugbjerg 1998; Dahl 1961; Bachratz and Baratz 1970)	Possible strategies of Aboriginal empowerment (Foth 2011; Durnik 2009)
Shortage of resources	First face of power; non-structural power; invited policy space	Additional funding and covering of administrative expenses
Location of public hearings	First space of power; structural power; invited policy space	Public meetings in Aboriginal communities; consideration of seasonal activities in communities
Structure of information and communication obstacles	Second face of power; non-structural power; invited policy space	Organization of information meetings: explanation of the environmental process; mode of participation; discussion which information could be available for meetings; long-enough deadlines for preparation; translation, if needed; effort to include less highly technical information
Technical discourse	First face of power (possibly second and third face); structural power; invited policy space	Presentation of technical content in advance; special attention to meaning in aboriginal languages
Procedural formalities	First face of power; structural power; invited policy space	Reliable access to information in distant Aboriginal communities and information exchange; less formal public hearings; parallel policy spaces
Questionable timing of project introduction	Second face of power; non-structural power; invited policy space,	Project announcement without manipulation with information and sufficient deadlines for remarks
Minimization of importance of negative environmental effects	Second face of power; non-structural power; invited policy space	Provision of adequate consultancy services to Aboriginal communities; reliable information from tender documentation
Limitations in timing and scheduling	First face of power; structural power; invited policy space	Crown consultations and EA as clearly separated processes (to avoid intersections) or their reasonable integration; additional time to find adequate experts and checking tender documentation
Disbelief	Third and fourth face of power (micro-power); non-structural power; invited policy space	Revaluation of the Aboriginal traditional knowledge; reconstruction of past traumatic events; building on community cohesion
Violent strategies of influence	Third face of power; non-structural power; invited policy space	Available resources for experts representing aboriginal voices; better explanation of environmental and other impacts

Fitzpatrick (2006) has underlined the following transformative learning outcomes in the Wuskwatim projects' EA (figure 2):

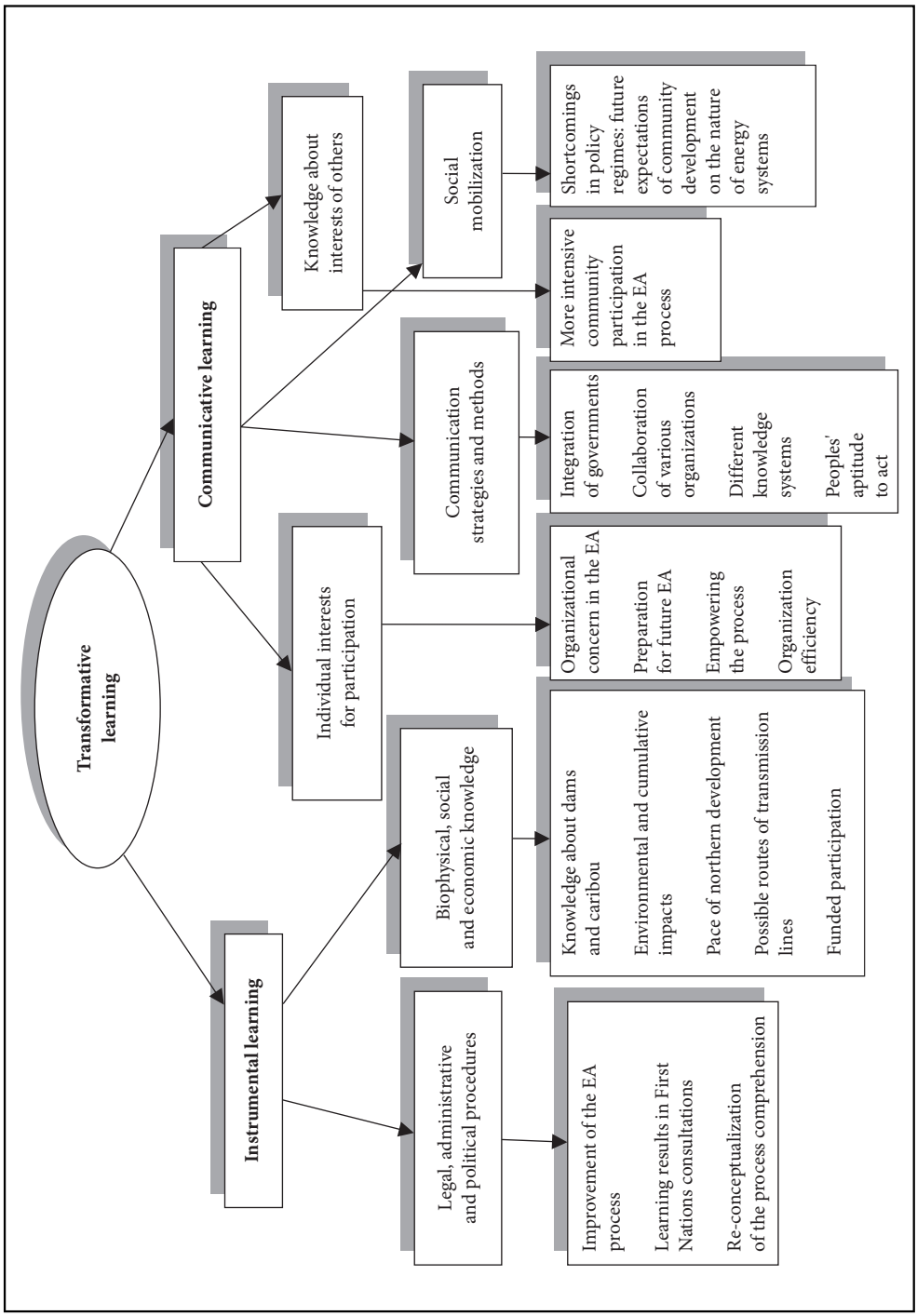

Figure 2: The structure of transformative learning in the context of Wuskwatim public hearings (source: adapted from Fitzpatrick 2006).

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Figure 3: Wuskwatim dam and generating station close to the end of construction in 2011.

5.2 The Soča River case and social action model

The case of the Soča River may pertain to social action model but with one uncertainty – until recently, the proposed Energy Law has not been a subject of further proceedings. Opponents (as determined with social action) usually try to radically change the power structure among the policy actors. The most important short-term goal is to prevent local environment and communities from negative effects of development. Politicalization (and possible escalation of conflict) of an issue may importantly change the nature of future public hearings towards more just, consolidate and present environmental assessment process. Acts of influence are usually as follows in the table 4:

Table 4: Dimensions of societal agenda as pre-organized activity: important policy players and the level of involvement of the public (source: adapted from Hessing and Howlett 1997).

Central Actors	Activities	Influence	Level of public involvement	Limitations
Political parties, interest groups, other individuals	Petitions, protests, and civil insubordination	Short-term response to daily political interesting themes	Public participation is relatively passive; possible escalation to organizing letter writing campaigns, community petitions, or study sessions on a specific issue; protests	Many of the activities of the environmental movement are directed to more general goals or are too diffused and radical

Figure 4 shows that policy actors' demands are addressed directly to the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning and inform general public. The main tool in terms of possible influence was a *letter-writing campaign*. Here are some main points expressed by opponents to preserve the River Soča and its tributaries:

- prohibition of construction of any hydroelectric facility in the areas of Soča and Idrijca;
- public interest has to be verified for all the constructions;
- any construction would have crucial impact on local tourism;
- high-head designs of dams would radically change the migration habits of animals;
- Slovenia is a signatory of the Alpine Convention and consequently obligated to preserve water regimes;
- the Energy Law is an example of a privileged position of the energy sector towards other sectors;

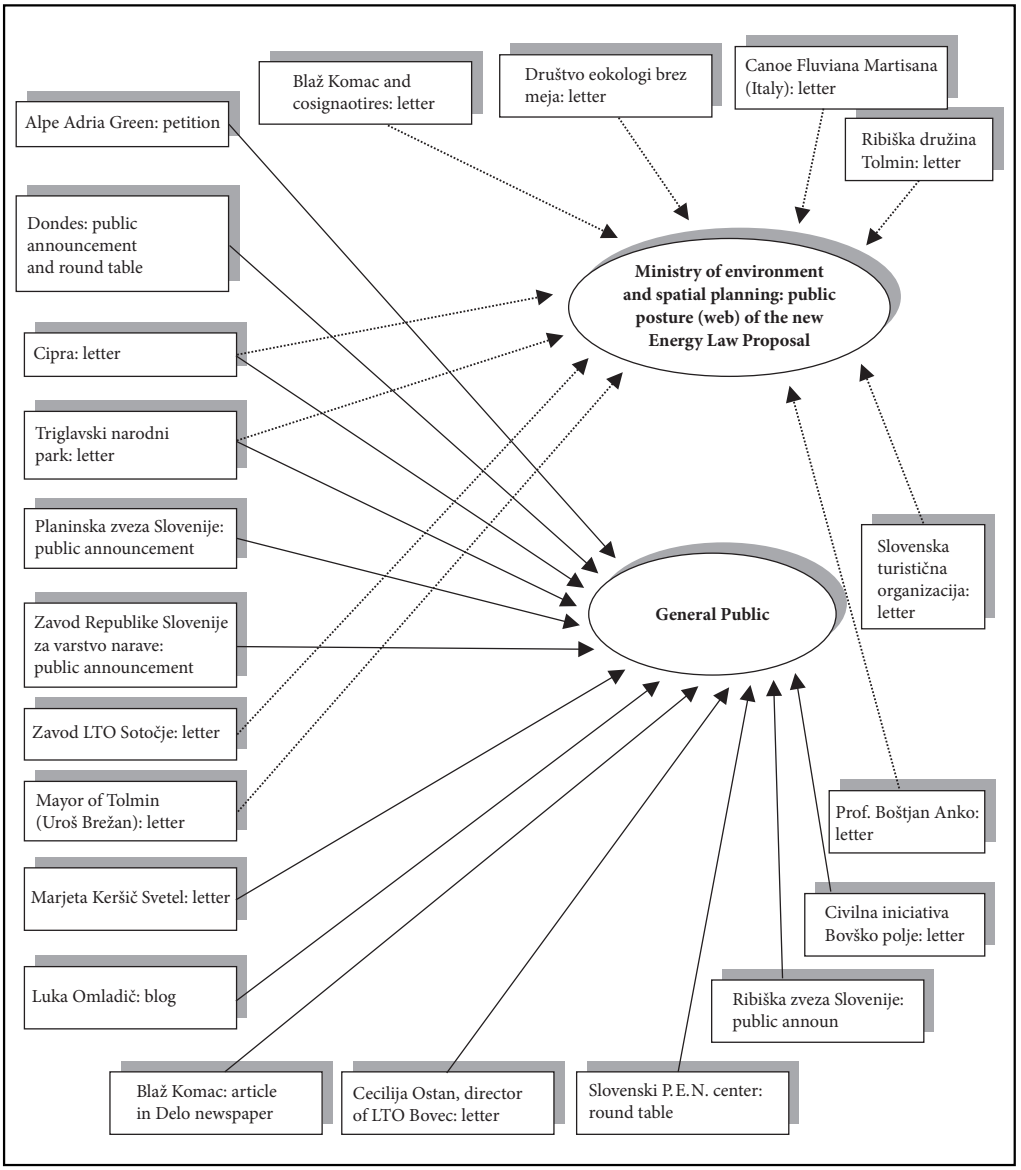

Figure 4: Primary coding of communication process and actors concerning the preservation of the River Soča and the proposed Energy Law.

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Figure 5: Artificial lake at Most na Soči: the result of impoundment of the Soča River.

- previous attempt for constructing hydroelectric power plants in Trnovo and Kobarid had been rejected with the majority of public voices even in the 1970s;
- the summer period is improper time for public debate over the proposed law;
- confusion in terms of parallel public debate around the Energy Law and the proposed National Energy Program 2010–2030 which does not foresee the construction of new facilities on the River Soča.

Decision-makers tried to minimize the importance of changing the river regime proposing it through the one single article 565 of the draft of the Energy Law. If Bachrach and Baratz's (1970) second face of power largely shapes non-decision making as a potential strategy of preventing issues from reaching the agenda-setting, *minimization* of importance of the issue may also be seen as similar expression of power, especially in the case when proponents are successful in their intention to reduce the weight of the proposed piece of legislation. Regarding to Bachrach and Baratz (1970), prevention of the issue to become a subject of decision-making is certainly a second facet of power in hands of *advocates*. As said, opponents are not in privilege position due to the reason that »*must win at all stages of the political process /…/ the defenders of existing policy must win at only one stage in the process*« (Bachrach and Baratz 1970, 58).

The Soča River case shows how interested parties around a particular policy problem are aware of creation a separate – generated – space of participation establishing from »bellow« (see Gaventa 2006). When policy players organize their own space of participation then, the impact of corporate players and governmental bodies is supposed to be minimal. Civil groups and individuals acted without directly using accumulated past policy knowledge concerning hydroelectricity – they might learn how to act solely from other environmental cases.

6 Conclusion

Policy players *create* their own space of participation or they are invited to participate (Gaventa 2006). The Wuskwatim example shows us that »invitation« means highly controllable policy space where to some extent *integration* of different views is possible. On the other hand, the Soča River case teaches us how

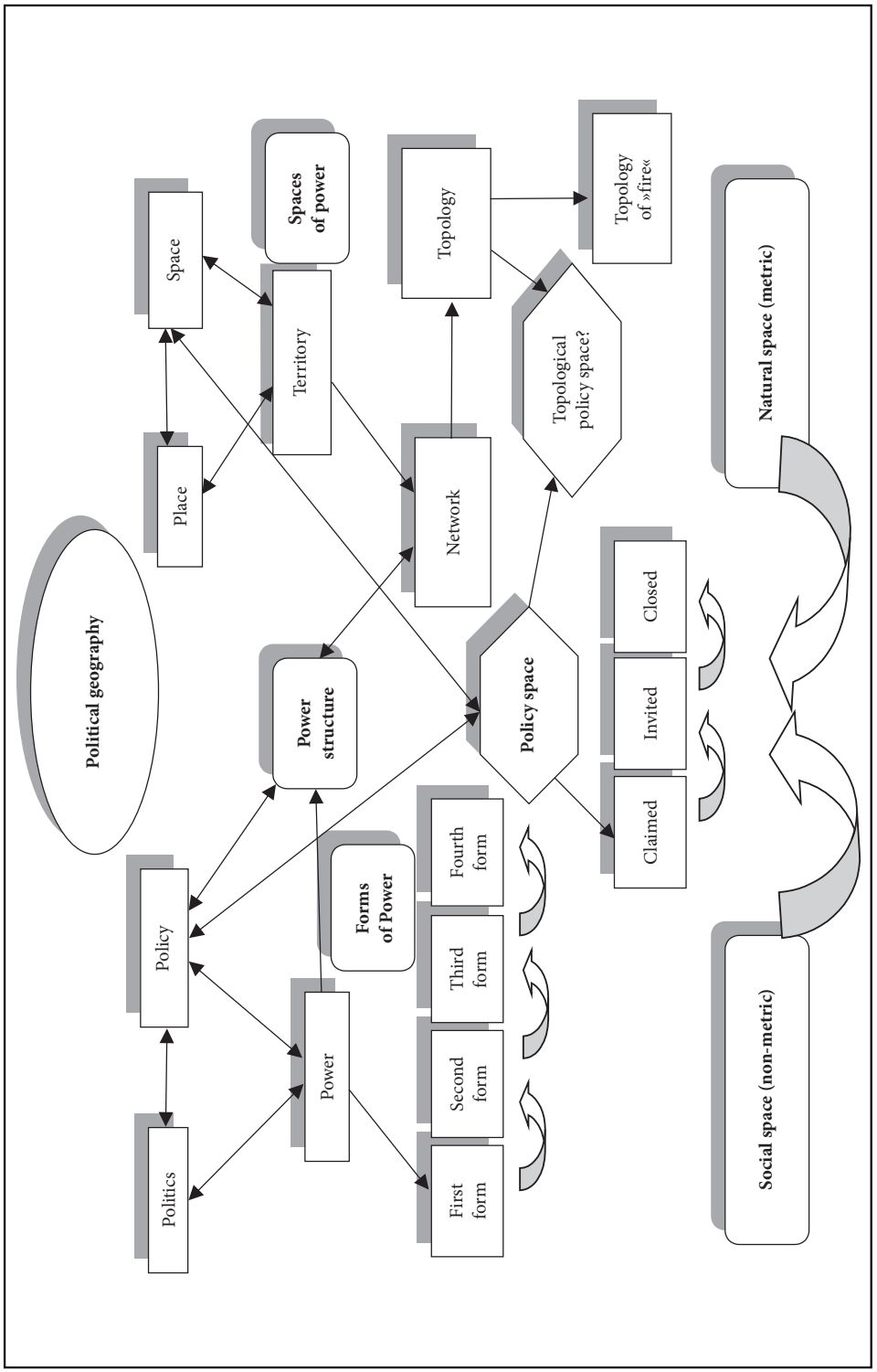

Figure 6: Political geography as the interaction of »politics« and »geography« through forms, structures and spaces of power (sources: adapted from Jones, Jones and Woods 2004; Allen 2009; Gaventa 2006; Digeser 1992; Söderström and Geertman 2012; Ek 2011).

power to *act* against the will of government may be *created* largely in the abstract space. The term policy space may shape tribunal, commission or hearing, or any more or less abstract space of policy action. Gaventa's (2006) perception of space is different than Allen's (2009). In addition to territory and networked power, Allen (2009) fixes his vision of the topological twisting in a sense that there is »*little interest in the measurable spans /…/ rather it is concerned with how the global is folded into the local, how power and authority register their presence through a variety of spatial twists and turns*« (Allen 2009, 206). The state power is not always perceived as territorial parameter; territoriality is solely one possible category of *spatiality* of the state power (Cox, Low, and Robinson 2008). In general, power, politics and policy »circulate« together and with space, territory and place constitute political geography (see Jones, Jones and Woods 2004).

We have assessed the potential of the CED approach through the »politics« to approach which largely shapes »*governance and state/society relations*« (Sheldrik 2007, 87), and specifically, openness/closeness of policy process. In table 5 are explained differences among both treated cases:

Table 5: Between power, public participation and development in hydroelectric policy: Wuskwatim and the Soča River case.

	Politics of the CED	
Parameters	*Locality development (Wuskwatim projects)*	*Social action (The Soča river case)*
Policy Space: claimed/created, invited and closed	Invited	Created/claimed
Levels of Political Action: local, state, global	Mainly provincial level	Local and national level
Forms of Power: visible, hidden, invisible, dispersed	All forms of power may appear (proponents and opponents)	All forms of power may be evident (proponents and opponents): hidden power in hands of proponents specifically
Spaces of Power: territory, network, topology (also boundary, network, fluidity, »fire« topology)	Place as power of space prevails (in the case of public meetings' location)	Network and topological twists; the latter mainly due to usage of the information technology
Power Structure: structural and non-structural	Mainly structural power in hands of proponents	Mainly non-structural power in hands of opponents
Transfer of power	Not in a radical manner	Not clear (possible influence on policy-making by opponents; at the same time potential power in hands of proponents due to non-decision)

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Vrednotenje udeležbe javnosti pri ocenjevanju okoljskih javnih politik: primer Slovenije in Kanade

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IZVLEČEK: Pričujoča raziskava obravnava metodologijo udeležbe javnosti in *politike* ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti v procesu ocenjevanja okoljskih javnih politik. Poseben poudarek gre konceptom moči in prostora, ki skupaj omogočata marginalnim skupinam *priložnost* za vstop v javnopolitični proces. Obenem pa je raziskovalni interes usmerjen v izboljšanje obstoječe metodologije participacije javnosti v kontekstu možne reintegracije ekspertnega in lokalnega sistema znanja. Na osnovi dveh študij primera (kanadskega projekta Wuskwatim in primera reke Soče v Sloveniji) so predstavljene razlike v oblikovanju koncepta vabljenega in zahtevanega/ustvarjenega javnopolitičnega prostora.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: geografija, hidroenergetski razvoj, moč, prostor, udeležba javnosti, ekonomski razvoj skupnosti, proces vrednotenja okoljskih politik, Slovenija, Kanada.

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Vsebina

1 Uvod

Z uporabo kanadskega pristopa k ekonomskemu razvoju skupnosti (odslej CED) želimo izpostaviti pomen participativnega upravljanja razvojnih planskih aktivnosti. Bistveni del tega raziskovanja je poskus preseči pogosto uporabljene »modne besede kot *"opolnomočenje ali /…/ izgradnja zmogljivosti, skupnostno dejanje, inovacija v skupnosti*« (Mendell 2010, 5) ter prikazati realni potencial skupnostnih iniciativ oziroma njihov vpliv na sodobno pokrajino.

Doslej so nekatere študije že obravnavale vrednotenje okoljskih vplivov v kontekstu hidroenergetskih projektov. Karjalainen in Järvikoski (2010) sta se na primeru Finske ukvarjala z legitimnostjo procesov vrednotenja v reševanju konfliktnih situacij. Pinho, Maia in Monterroso (2007) so vrednotili kakovost študij o vplivih na okolje na primeru malih hidroelektrarn na Portugalskem. Thórhallsdóttir (2007) je v okviru islandskega energetskega načrta ocenjevala okoljske vrednote in vpliv na okolje kot posledice hidroenergetskega in geotermalnega razvoja. V Kanadi sta Fitzpatrick in Sinclair (2009) naredila dragocen vpogled v proučevanje vrednotenja okoljskih vplivov v »večnadzornih okoljih« s posebnim poudarkom na odprti participaciji javnosti. Ob tem so Sinclair, Diduck in Fitzpatrick (2008), prav tako na primeru Kanade, namenili pozornost učinkom učenja javnosti v procesih okoljskega vrednotenja.

Udeležbo javnosti preučujemo skupaj s konceptom moči: kako z močjo upravljajo korporacije in vlade pri oblikovanju prostora za participacijo javnosti? Javnopolitični prostor za udeležbo javnosti je lahko bolj ali manj abstraktna kategorija (npr. konkretnejša kot prostor za javno debato o okolju na točno določeni lokaciji, ki je vnaprej organizirana in določena s pravili ali abstraktnejša, kot povezovanje akterjev, na primer, preko interneta), ki ga z različnimi strategijami izraza moči poskušajo zagovorniki razvojnega projekta obvladovati (glej v Gaventa 2006; Durnik 2009). Razlike v odzivih javnosti na okoljske probleme predstavljamo v dveh različnih kontekstih:

- reakcija javnosti »od spodaj« (ustvarjeni/zahtevani javnopolitični prostor) ob uporabi kratkoročnih strategij vplivanja (peticije, pisma) na javnopolitični proces;
- udeležba javnosti na vabljenih zborovanjih (javni prostor z »vabilom«), ki ima vnaprej določene postopke.

2 Ekonomski razvoj skupnosti

Pristop ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti »*se osredotoča predvsem na ekonomske in gmotne izboljšave v življenju članov skupnosti*« (Loxley 2007, 8) in primarno zagovarja integracijo različnih razvojnih modelov (Loxley 2007; Loxley 2010). V okviru omenjenega pristopa obstajata dve različni viziji ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti:

- odpravljanje negativnih posledic kapitalističnega razvoja;
- nove alternative temu razvoju.

Kot je že bilo nakazano v projektu Manitobskega raziskovalnega združenja *Ekonomski razvoj skupnosti v novi ekonomiji* (Internet 1), je vključevanje ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti na mnogih področjih relevantno v povezavi s konceptom nove ekonomije:

- vpliv novih tehnologij (internet, satelitska tehnologija) na življenje v odmaknjenih skupnostih;
- revitalizacija poslovnih modelov ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti;
- poslovanje v novi ekonomiji z upoštevanjem kulturne komponente;
- upravljanje z naravnimi viri in morebitne ovire pri udeležbi staroselcev;
- vpliv hidroenergetskega razvoja na življenje staroselskih skupnosti na severu.

Ekonomija znanja lahko ustvari dodatne ovire v razvoju skupnosti. Visoka rast ima lahko relevantne pozitivne učinke na ravni države in mednarodne skupnosti, vendar na ravni lokalne skupnosti lahko povzroči neželene posledice. Nova ekonomija lahko ponuja priložnosti v sektorju informacijske tehnologije in financ, obenem pa lahko povzroči, da ugodnosti, ki jih prinaša visoka gospodarska rast, niso razporejene pravično (Manitoba Research Alliance 2006).

3 Metodologija in raziskovalni model

Za namen raziskave smo uporabili dokumentacijo o javnih soočenjih v okviru projektov Wuskwatim. V kontekstu hidroenergetskega razvoja Zgornjega Posočja pa smo uporabili analizo vladnih dokumentov, poročanja medijev ter dokumentov zasebnega arhiva.

Zanima nas, katere metode udeležbe javnosti v vrednotenju okoljskih javnih politik (glej v Golobič 2011) so skupne *politiki* ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti (glej Sheldrick 2007).

Table 1: Metode udeležbe javnosti v aktivnostih načrtovanja (vir: Golobič 2011).

	Methods of individual participation	Groups-interactive methods
	metode posameznikove udeležbe	interaktivne metode skupin
informiranje	medijske objave, brošure, modeli, razstave, medmrežje	javne razgrnitve, dnevi odprtih vrat, interaktivni plakati in modeli, informacijsko središče, dogodki
posvetovanje	ankete, intervjuji, analiza skupnosti, foto analiza, spoznavni zemljevidi, natečaji, peticije	javne obravnave, metoda Delphi, skupinske razprave (delavnice, okrogle mize, odprti prostor, fokusne skupine, svetovna kavarna, konferenca o prihodnosti), spremljanje z udeležbo
udeležba pri odločanju	volitve, referendum	postopek načrtovanja z udeležbo, prostovoljne pogodbe, posredništvo, predstavniki javnosti v telesih odločanja (forumi), civilne pobude

Politiko k pristopu ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti pristopa lahko razumemo skozi naslednje razvojne modele (Sheldrick 2007):

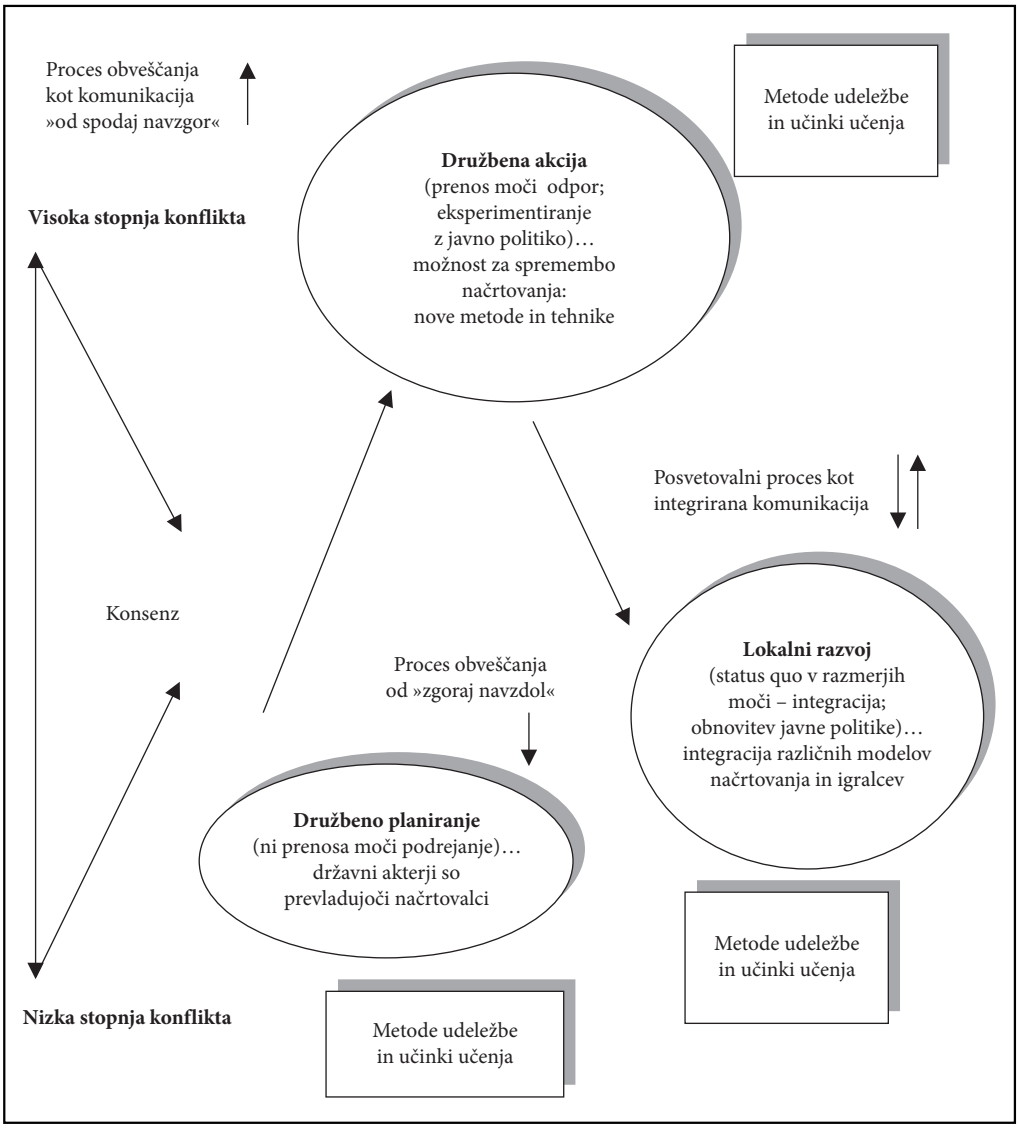
- model družbenega planiranja kot tehnokratski pristop od zgoraj navzdol;
- lokalni razvoj z visoko stopnjo konsenza med udeleženci;
- model družbene akcije z radikalizacijo in politizacijo morebitnega konflikta, ki bi lahko prispeval k transformaciji skupnosti.

V okviru prvega so odločitve tehnokratov navadno odgovor na probleme v skupnosti. Člani skupnosti so formalno del javnopolitičnega procesa, vendar niso vključeni v procese načrtovanja. Model lokalnega razvoja predvideva preprečevanje in kontrolo konflikta. Država prenese pristojnosti na skupnosti, ki ob tem zaradi intenzivne birokratizacije izgubijo del zmožnosti za aktivistično delovanje. Prenos moči in pomembna prerazporeditev virov morata biti predmet menjave med državo in organizacijami v skupnosti, če hočemo radikalno spremembo v družbi (Shragge 2003; Sheldrick 2007; Mendell 2010). V tem vidiku model družbene akcije nudi zmožnost za radikalno transformacijo skupnosti (Sheldrick 2007).

Raziskovalni model je rezultat dolgoročnega proučevanja hidroenergetskega razvoja Kanade (več o tem v Rousseau 2000; Martin and Hoffman 2008; Durnik 2009), kjer večina primerov kaže zelo podobno sosledje reakcij po večini staroselskih skupnosti nasproti državi: naprej pride do podrejanja lokalne skupnosti, nato do radikalne spremembe kot opolnomočenja, in končno, do pripravljenosti za nov konsenz z oblastmi.

Ideja transformacijskega učenja (učinkov učenja) določa, na kakšen način lahko izobrazba in učenje pri starejših povzročita družbene spremembe (Fitzpatrick 2006). Na tem mestu sta pomembni dve določnici transformacijskega učenja: instrumentalno in komunikacijsko učenje. Prva oblika predstavlja pridobivanje »*novega znanja in veščin, zasnovanih za kontrolo ali manipuliranje z okoljem*« (Fitzpatrick 2006, 3), model komunikacijskega učenja pa ponuja vpogled v mnenje drugih glede nas samih in strategije, kako spreminjamo mnenje nasprotne strani (Fitzpatrick 2006). V ta namen znanstveniki uporabljajo metodologijo kognitivnih shem za konvergenco različnih vidikov med eksperti in javnostjo (več o tem v Ackerlund 2011).

Participacija javnosti je v veliki meri povezana z razmerji moči v družbi. Moč si lahko predstavljamo v mnogih različnih pogledih: kot hierarhijo opolnomočenja, kot mikro-moč ali kot psihološki vidik moči. Pristop treh obrazov moči vključuje moč bodisi kot odprto tekmovanje z vnaprej znanimi pravili (Dahl 1958; 1961) bodisi kot neodločanje (Bachrach in Baratz 1962; 1970) ali pa kot manipulacijo z mnenji drugih ljudi (Lukes 1974; 2005). Koncept mikro-moči (znan tudi kot Foucaultova smer) lahko opredelimo tudi kot nadaljevanje treh obrazov moči in pojasnjuje, da je moč »povsod« in se izraža skozi diskurzivne formacije (Digeser 1992). Gaventa (2006) ponuja koncept kocke moči, kjer tri prej omenjene oblike moči kombinira s prostorom in ravnijo participacije javnosti. Allen (2009) obravnava moč kot »triobraznost« prostora: teritorij, mreža in topološko ukrivljanje; Ek (2011) pa podobno opredeljuje topologije moči in kot četrto dimenzijo prepoznava parameter prisotnosti oziroma odsotnosti moči (prve tri topološke oblike so meja, omrežje in fluidnost). Daugbjerg (1998) je Smithovo formulacijo strukturne in nestrukturne moči uporabil pri konceptu javnopolitičnega omrežja. Strukturna moč izhaja iz delovanja omrežja, kjer so vna-



Slika 1: Dinamično (tristopenjsko) razumevanje evolucije modela ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti, uporabljenega na primeru kanadskega hidroenergetskega razvoja (prirejeno po Durnik 2012).

prej znani postopki in pravila, medtem ko strukturna moč zajema udeležence, ki uporabljajo svoje veščine in vire v javnopolitičnem procesu.

4 Študije primerov

Predmet primerjave sta hidroenergetska projekta Wuskwatim v severni Manitobi (Kanada) in načrtovan prihodnji razvoj v zgornjem Posočju v severozahodni Sloveniji. Prvi primer orisuje dolgoročni spor med kanadsko vlado in staroselskimi skupnostmi o naravi razvoja na staroselskem ozemlju in predstavlja izboljšan

pretekli model sodelovanja. V primeru Zgornjega Posočja je slovenska vlada s predlaganjem novega Energetskega zakona (Ministrstvo za gospodarstvo 2011) želela razveljaviti dva prejšnja zakona (Zakon o določitvi zavarovanega območja za reko Sočo s pritoki, Uradni list SRS 7/76 in Zakon o ohranjanju narave, Uradni list RS 56/99, 31/00, 119/02, 22/03, 41/04, 96/04 – UPB) in na drugačen način regulirati gradnjo energetske infrastrukture na reki Soči. Glede na sporen 565. člen bi bila gradnja in obnova možna na »*odseku od izvira Soče do vtoka Idrijce pri Mostu na Soči tudi na območju naravne vrednote*«, do sedaj pa je bilo območje zaščiteno pred kakršnimikoli posegi. Čeprav je omenjeni člen edini v predlaganem zakonu, ki se ukvarja z reko Sočo in pritoki, bi pomembno spremenil življenje v lokalnih skupnostih.

Komac (2011 b) meni, da bi za tako pomembno odločitev potrebovali veliko daljšo obravnavo tematike in širšo javno debato. Poleg tega pa bi morala morebitna modifikacija obstoječe zakonodaje vključevati obsežne študije dolgoročnih potreb, primernosti in upravičenosti predvidenih posegov (socialne, okoljske, gospodarske posledice), predlagane spremembe pa bi morale biti javno predstavljene in ovrednotene. To je pomembno, ker je Soča ena zadnjih alpskih rek s tako ohranjenim naravnim okoljem in je obenem pomemben vir dohodka skupnosti (turizem). Poleg tega so pomembni dejavniki kolektivnega spomina lokalnega prebivalstva tudi trenutki strahu glede naravnih nesreč, ki so se zgodile v zadnjem desetletju (glej Komac 2009; o splošnem vrednotenju škode v naravnih nesrečah v Sloveniji glej v Zorn in Komac 2011).

Projekta Wuskatim sta sestavljena iz hidroelektrarne in pripadajočih daljnovodov. Hidroelektrarna je bila predmet predlaganega partnerstva med ljudstvom Nisichawayasihk Cree in kronsko korporacijo Manitoba Hydro. 200-megavatno hidroelektrarno so zgradili na območju slapov Taskinigahp (ang. Taskinigahp Falls) na reki Burntwood (ang. Burntwood River), upravnega območja virov Nelson House, kar je približno 45 kilometrov jugozahodno od Thompsona (Internet 2). 230-kilovoltni daljnovodi (Fitzpatrick 2006) niso del partnerstva, vendar so bili skupaj z gradnjo dovozne ceste do hidroelektrarne predmet procesa okoljskega vrednotenja (Foth 2011). Skupnost Nisichawayasihk Cree iz območja Nelson House se je strinjala s skupnim partnerstvom z Manitoba Hydro v približno tretjinskem deležu nastajajoče hidroelektrarne v znesku 1,2 milijarde kanadskih dolarjev (Durnik 2012). Kronska korporacija je članom skupnosti s projektom zagotovila prednost pri zasedbi nekaterih delovnih mest (Internet 3; Internet 4).

5 Analiza

5.1 Projekta Wuskwatim in lokalizirani razvoj

Mandat za izvedbo javnega zaslišanja je bil poverjen Komisiji za čisto okolje (ang. *Clean Environmental Commission*), ki je dobila nalogo preveriti upravičenost, potrebo in možne alternative k predlaganima projektoma ter preverjanje morebitnih okoljskih, socio-ekonomskih in kulturnih vplivov. Ocenjevanje vplivov okolja je podprto s federalno zakonodajo, kot je na primer Kanadski zakon o presoji vplivov na okolje (S.C. 2012, c. 19, s. 52) ter manitobski Okoljski zakon (C.C.S.M. c. E125; Foth 2011; Durnik 2009). Na nivoju province Manitoba so skupnosti staroselcev sodelovale pri sledečih aktivnostih (v večini pod pokroviteljstvom Komisije za čisto okolje) (preglednica 2):

Preglednica 2: Udeležba javnosti na različnih stopnjah postopka presoje okoljskih vplivov (Vir: Durnik 2009; Foth 2011).

javnopolitični proces	javna zborovanja (štiri)	konferenca pred javnim zaslišanjem	zaslišanje glede vložitve novih predlogov za glavni javni zaslišanji	proces spraševanja (štirje krogi pisnih vprašanj)	javna zaslišanja (32 dni)
predmet obravnave	dopolnila k osnutku izjave o presoji vplivov na okolje	preverjanje predlaganega dnevnega reda s predlagatelji projektov	razširitev področja (vsebine) procesa presoje in obravnava še nerazkritih dejavnikov	informiranje javnopolitičnih akterjev in izogibanje podvajanju predlogov	izdaja okoljskega dovoljenja

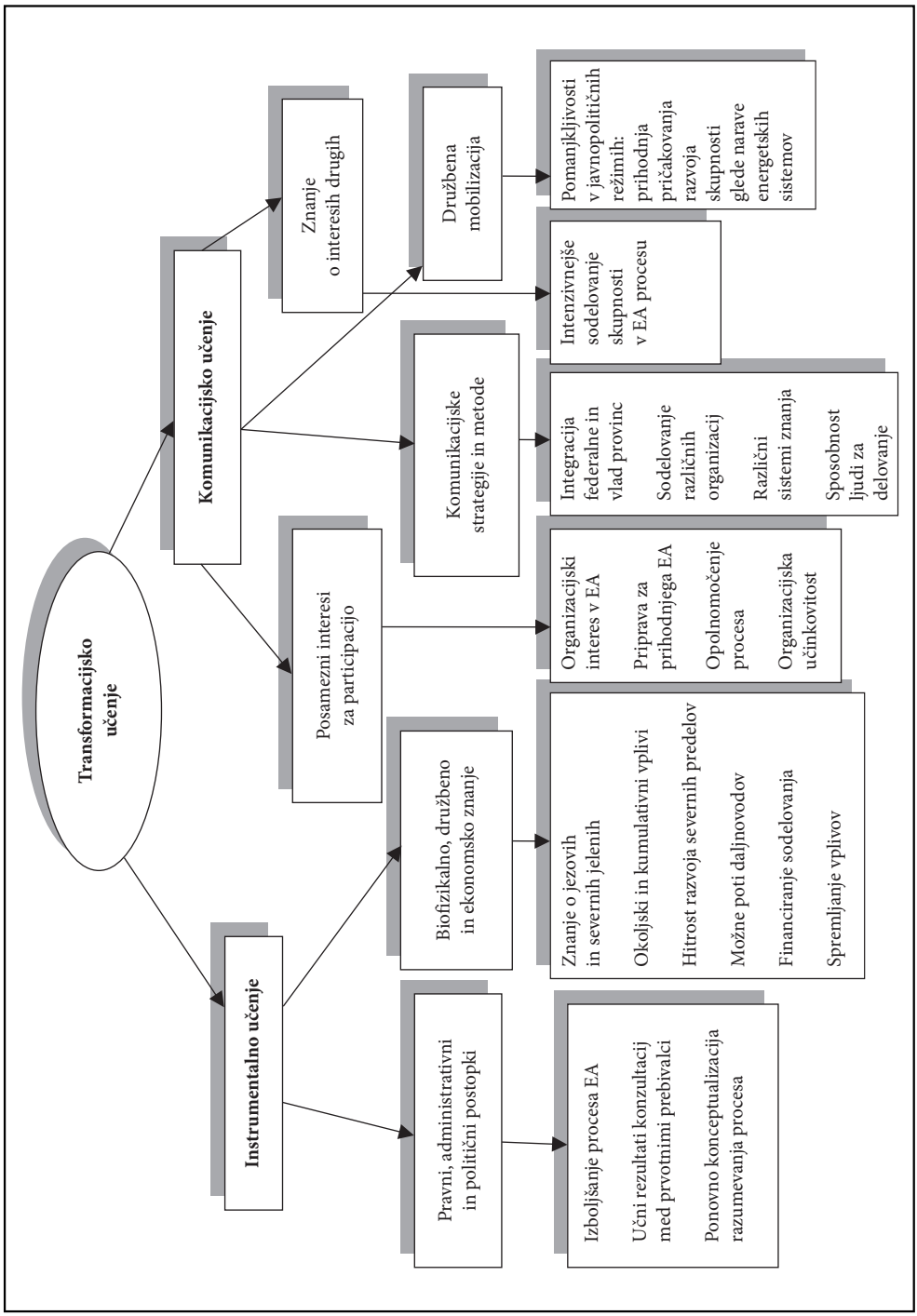
Zaslišanja so bila do neke mere pripravljena na način, ki je bil sprejemljiv za staroselske skupnosti, obenem pa so bile tudi nekatere pomanjkljivosti. Foth (2011) pravi, da je prav pomanjkanje sredstev za financiranje omejevalo optimalno participacijo staroselcev, čeprav je bilo zanjo namenjenih več kot 870.000 dolarjev.

Na vključevanje staroselcev je pomembno vplivalo tudi pomanjkanje pravnih in tehničnih zmožnosti ter ekspertnega znanja za podporo njihovemu delovanju. Pomen lokacije je bil prav tako ključen: 82 odstotkov vseh javnih shodov med leti 2002 in 2004 se je odvijalo v mestu Winnipeg na jugu Manitobe, kjer sta sedeža vlade province Manitoba in podjetja Manitoba Hydro, medtem ko se je večina hidroenergetskega razvoja odvija na severu Manitobe. Pomanjkanje zanesljivih informacij in komunikacijske ovire so se izrazili v strukturi informacij, njihovi nedostopnosti, tehnicističnem diskurzu in postopkovnih formalnostih (Foth 2011). Kobliski (2004) poudarja, da so predlagatelji »*vpeljali projekt prehitro, brez resničnega posvetovanja z ljudmi*«. Kempton (2004) priznava, da je Manitoba Hydro skušala zmanjšati pomen negativnih okoljskih učinkov obeh projektov. Pomanjkanje zaupanja in nerazumevanje procesa diskusije sta bili še dodatni oviri za udeležbo javnosti glede na posledice gradnje. Končno pa je tudi uporaba vsiljive strategije predlagateljev z namenom prevladovati v javni debati ključno vplivala na dogajanje (Foth 2011).

Preglednica 3: Pomanjkljivosti pri javnih obravnavah, različne razlage o pojavu moči in strategije opolnomočenja v primeru projektov Wuskwatim

pomanjkljivosti, opisane s strani vključenih javnosti (Foth 2011; Kempton 2004; Kobliski 2004)	izraz moči v rokah predlagateljev (Lukes 1974; Gaventa 2006; Daugbjerg 1998; Dahl 1961; Bachratz in Baratz 1970)	možne strategije opolnomočenja staroselcev (Foth 2011; Durnik 2009)
pomanjkanje virov	prvi obraz moči; nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	dodatna finančna sredstva in kritje administrativnih stroškov
lokacija javnih zaslišanj	prvi prostor moči; strukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	javni shodi v staroselskih skupnostih; upoštevanje sezonskih dejavnosti v skupnostih
struktura informacij in komunikacijske ovire	drugi obraz moči; nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	organizacija informativnih sestankov: obrazložitev postopka okoljske presoje; način sodelovanja; razprava o razpoložljivih informacijah za shode; primerni roki za pripravo; prevod; prizadevanje za vključitev manj izrazito tehničnih informacij
tehnicistični diskurz	prvi obraz moči (možen tudi drugi in tretji); strukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	predstavitev tehničnih vsebin vnaprej; posebna pozornost pomenom v staroselskih jezikih
postopkovne formalnosti	prvi obraz moči; strukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	zanesljiv dostop do informacij v oddaljenih staroselskih skupnostih in izmenjava informacij; manj formalne predstavitve javnosti; vzporedni javnopolitični prostor
vprašljiv čas vpeljave projekta	drugi obraz moči; nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	objava projekta brez manipulacije z informacijami in primerni roki za pripombe
zmanjšanje pomena negativnih okoljskih učinkov	drugi obraz moči; nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	zagotavljanje ustreznih svetovalnih storitev za staroselske skupnosti; zanesljive informacije iz razpisne dokumentacije
časovne omejitve in omejitve dnevnega reda	prvi obraz moči; strukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	kronska posvetovanja in proces vrednotenja okoljskih: jasno ločeni postopki (da bi se izognili podvajanju) ali njihova razumna integracija; dodaten čas za iskanje ustreznih strokovnjakov in preverjanje razpisne dokumentacije
nezaupanje	tretji in četrti obraz moči (mikro-moč); nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	prevrednotenje staroselskega tradicionalnega znanja, rekonstrukcija preteklih travmatičnih dogodkov, izgradnja kohezije v skupnosti
nasilne strategije vplivanja	tretji obraz moči; nestrukturna moč; javnopolitični prostor z vabilom	razpoložljiva sredstva za strokovnjake, ki zastopajo glasove prvotnih prebivalcev, jasnejša predstavitev okoljskih in drugih vplivov

Fitzpatrick (2006) je izpostavila učinke transformacijskega učenja v okviru presoje vplivov projektov Wuskwatim, ki so predstavljeni na sliki 2.



Slika 2: Struktura transformativnega učenja v okviru javnih zaslišanj projektov Wuskwatim (vir: prirejeno po Fitzpatrick 2006).

Slika 3: Jez in hidroelektrarna Wuskwatim ob koncu gradnje leta 2011.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

5.2 Primer reke Soče in model družbene akcije

Primer reke Soče lahko ocenimo kot primer modela družbene akcije, vendar z eno neznanko – do leta 2012 predlagani Energetski zakon ni bil predmet nadaljnjega postopka. Kot predvideva model družbene akcije nasprotniki navadno poskušajo spremeniti strukturo moči med javnopolitičnimi akterji. Najpomembnejši kratkoročni cilj je zavarovati lokalno okolje in skupnosti pred negativnimi vplivi razvoja. Politizacija in možno stopnjevanje konflikta v določeni zadevi lahko pomembno spremeni naravo javnih zaslišanj proti bolj pravičnemu, konsolidiranemu in jasnejšemu procesu presoje okoljskih vplivov.

Preglednica 4: Dimenzije družbene agende kot pred-organizacijske aktivnosti: pomembni javnopolitični akterji in stopnja vključenosti javnosti (vir: prirejeno po Hessing in Howlett 1997).

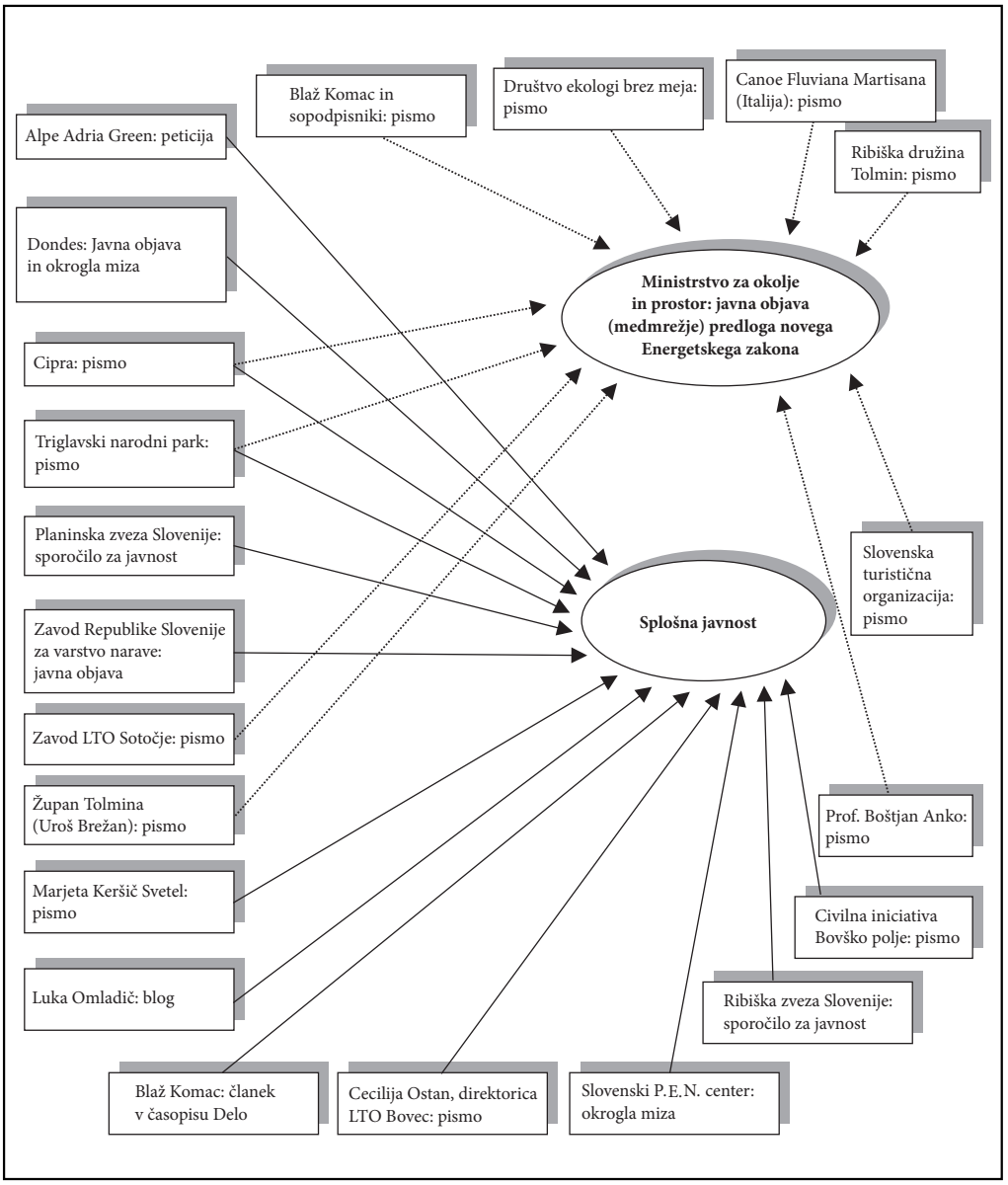
pomembni igralci	aktivnosti	vpliv	stopnja vključenosti javnosti	omejitve
politične stranke, interesne skupine, drugi posamezniki	peticije, protesti, in civilna nepokorščina	kratkoročni odziv na dnevne politične zanimive teme	sodelovanje javnosti je relativno pasivno, možno stopnjevanje organiziranih akcij pisanja pisem; skupnostne peticije; študijski sestanki o posebnih vprašanjih; protesti	številne dejavnosti okoljskega gibanje so usmerjene na več splošnih ciljev ali pa so le-ti preveč razpršeni in radikalni

Slika 5 kaže, da so javnopolitični akterji svoje zahteve naslavljali neposredno na Ministrstvo za okolje in prostor ter obveščali javnost. Glavno orodje možnega vplivanja je bila kampanja pisanja pisem. Tu je nekaj glavnih točk, ki so jih izpostavili nasprotniki za ohranitev reke Soče in njenih pritokov:

- prepoved gradnje kateregakoli hidroenergetskega objekta na Soči in Idrijci;
- za vse konstrukcije je treba preveriti javni interes;
- vsaka gradnja bi imela odločilen vpliv na lokalni turizem;
- visoki jezovi bi radikalno spremenili selitvene navade živali;
- Slovenija je podpisnica Alpske konvencije in s tem zavezana k ohranjanju vodnih režimov;
- energetski zakon je primer privilegiranega položaja energetskega sektorja v povezavi z drugimi sektorji;
- prejšnji poskus za gradnjo hidroelektrarn v Trnovem in Kobaridu je javnost že v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja zavrnila z večino glasov;
- poletno obdobje je neprimeren čas za javno razpravo o predlogu zakona;
- nejasnosti v zvezi z vzporedno javno razpravo o Energetskem zakonu in predlaganem Nacionalnem energetskem programu 2010–2030, ki ne predvideva gradnje novih objektov na reki Soči.

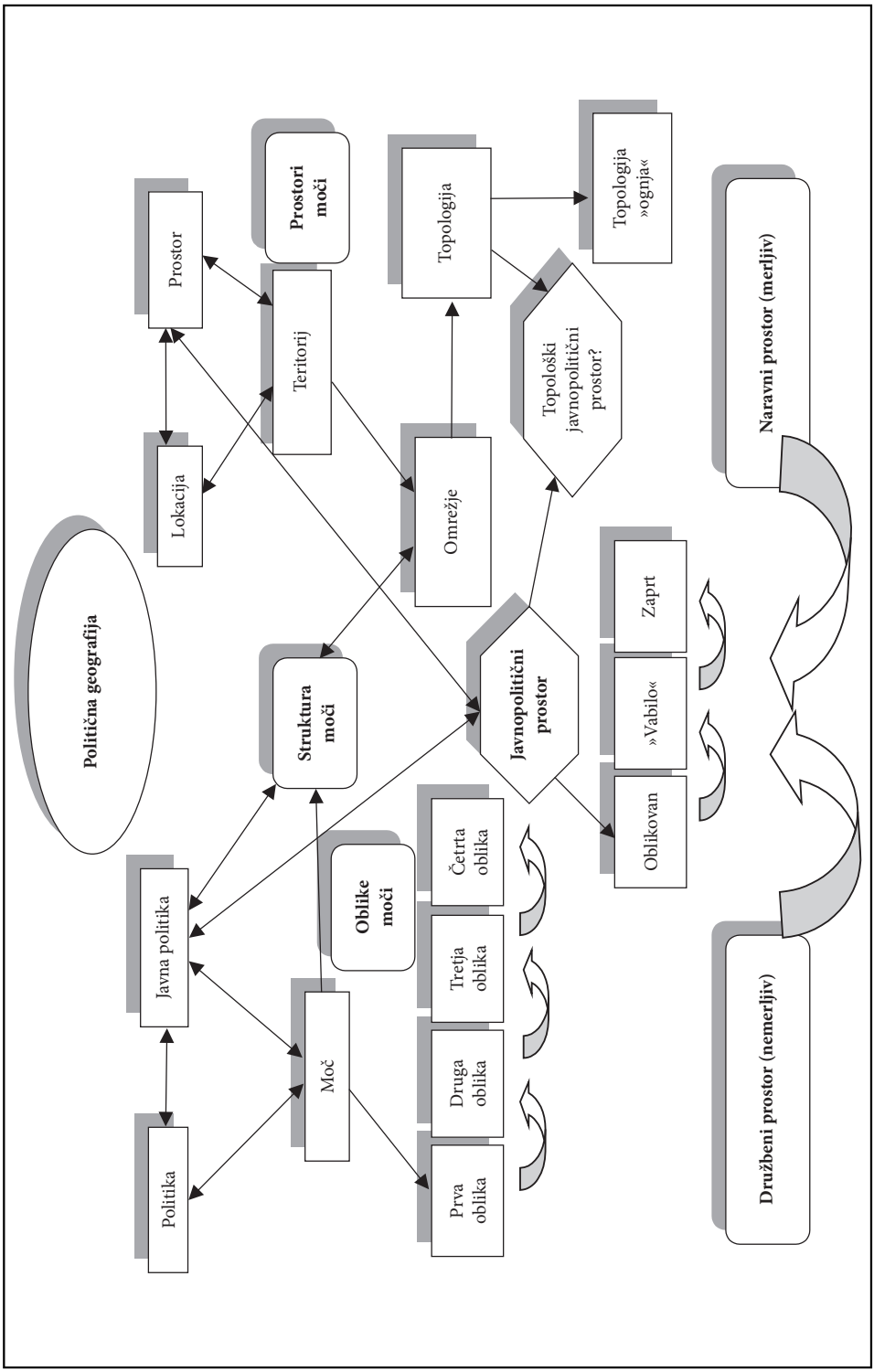
Odločevalci so v veliki meri skušali zmanjšali pomen spreminjanja režima reke predvsem s tem, da so spremembo predlagali le z enim (565-im) členom k predlogu Energetskega zakona. Bachratz in Baraztov (1970) drugi obraz moči v veliki meri zajema neodločanje kot morebitno strategijo preprečevanja dostopa do javnopolitične agende, zato se zdi zmanjševanje pomena določeni zadevi podoben izraz moči. Posebej še v primeru, ko so predlagatelji uspešni v svoji nameri zmanjšati pomen predlagane zakonodaje. Glede na Bachrach in Baratzovo (1970) opredelitev je preprečevanje zadevi, da postane predmet odločanja vsekakor drugi vidik moči v rokah zagovornikov. Kot rečeno, nasprotniki niso v privilegiranem položaju, ker »*morajo zmagati na vseh stopnjah političnega procesa … zagovorniki obstoječe politike* [pa] *morajo zmagati le na eni stopnji procesa*« (Bachrach in Baratz 1970, 58).

Primer reke Soče kaže, kako se interesne strani, zbrane okrog določenega problema, zavedajo oblikovanja ločenega – ustvarjenega – prostora participacije, vzpostavljenega »od spodaj« (glej Gaventa 2006). Ko javnopolitični igralci organizirajo svoj prostor sodelovanja, je vpliv korporativnih igralcev in vladnih organov predvidoma minimalen. Civilne skupine in posamezniki so delovali brez neposredne uporabe preteklega akumuliranega znanja o hidroenergetski javni politiki – lahko so se učili le iz drugih okoljskih primerov.



Slika 4: Primarno kodiranje komunikacijskega procesa in udeležencev glede varovanja reke Soče in predlaganega Energetskega zakona.

Slika 5: Umetno jezero na Mostu na Soči: rezultat zajezitve reke Soče.
Glej angleški del prispevka.



Slika 6: Politična geografija kot interakcija »politike« in »geografije« skozi oblike, strukture in prostore moči (viri: prirejeno po Jones, Jones in Woods 2004; Allen 2009; Gaventa 2006; Digeser 1992; Söderström in Geertman 2012; Ek 2011).

6 Sklep

Politični akterji ustvarjajo svoj lasten prostor sodelovanja ali pa so vabljeni k sodelovanju (Gaventa 2006). Primer Wuskwatim nam kaže, da »vabilo« pomeni zelo nadzorovan javnopolitični prostor, kjer je do neke mere vključevanje različnih pogledov mogoče. Po drugi strani pa nas primer reke Soče uči, kako je lahko moč ukrepanja proti volji vlade ustvarjena pretežno v abstraktnem prostoru.

Izraz »javnopolitični prostor« lahko zajema razsodišča, komisije ali zaslišanja, ali katerekoli drug bolj ali manj abstraktni prostor javnopolitičnega delovanja. Gaventova (2006) zaznava prostora je drugačna od Allenove (2009). Poleg teritorija in omrežne moči Allen (2009) začrta svojo vizijo topološkega ukrivljanja na način, da je le »*majhen interes v merljivih razdaljah … temveč, namesto tega, se ukvarja z tem … kako je globalno prepognjeno z lokalnim ter kako moč in oblast beležita svojo prisotnost skozi različna prostorska ukrivljanja in obrate*« (Allen 2009, 206). Moč države se vedno ne zaznava kot teritorialni parameter, teritorialnost pa je samo ena možna kategorija prostorskosti državne moči (Cox, Low in Robinson 2008). Na splošno, moč, politika in javna politika »krožijo« med seboj in s parametri prostora, ozemlja in lokacije predstavljajo politično geografijo (glej Jones, Jones in Woods 2004).

Ovrednotili smo zmožnost ekonomskega razvoja skupnosti skozi »politike« k omenjenemu pristopu, ki v veliki meri zajema »*vladanje in razmerja med državo in družbo*« (Sheldrick 2007, 87) ter posebej odprtost oziroma zaprtost javnopolitičnega procesa. V preglednici 5 so pojasnjene temeljne razlike med obravnavanima primeroma:

Preglednica 5: Razmerje med močjo, javno participacijo in razvojem v hidroenergetski javni politiki: primera Wuskwatim in reka Soča.

	Politika k ekonomskemu razvoju skupnosti	
dejavniki	*lokaliziran razvoj (projekta Wuskwatim)*	*model družbene akcije (primer reke Soče)*
javnopolitični prostor: zahtevan/oblikovan, »z vabilom« in zaprt	»vabilo«	zahtevan/oblikovan
nivo politične akcije: lokalni, nacionalni, globalni	povečini raven province	lokalni in nacionalni
oblike moči: vidna, skrita, nevidna, razpršena	vse oblike moči se lahko pojavijo (predlagatelji in nasprotniki)	vse oblike moči so vidne (predlagatelji in nasprotniki): skrita moč posebej v rokah predlagateljev
prostorskost moči: teritorij, omrežje, topologija (tudi meja, omrežje, fluidnost, topologija »ognja«)	lokacija kot moč prostora prevladuje (v primeru lokacije javnih zaslišanj)	omrežje in topološko ukrivljanje, slednje povečini zaradi uporabe informacijske tehnologije
struktura moči: strukturna in nestrukturna	v glavnem strukturna moč v rokah predlagateljev	povečini nestrukturna moč v rokah nasprotnikov
prenos moči	ne v radikalni obliki	ni jasen (možen vpliv na oblikovanje javne politike s strani nasprotnikov; ob tem možno posedovanje moči v rokah predlagateljev zaradi neodločanja)

7 Literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.